1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28



the present day many ceremonies that have been discarded by the Gila Pima and only vaguely hinted at by the vanishing Lower Pima or the Catholicized Tarahumara.

Rather we should say that *some* of them have retained *some* ceremonies, for the Papago are by no means a homogeneous group. Geographically they are divided into four main sections, each with a different dialect and, perhaps, having different biological elements in its population. These groups have been described in my previous volume,[1] but for convenience in following the ceremonies, they are listed briefly here.

Northern Papago (nicknamed *totokuanyi*, loose G string), sometimes called "Archie people," from the name of their head village. Residents of this large and important division speak of themselves as the true Desert People, the first settlers of the country. They are in intimate communication with the Pima, and this same communication was going on even in Kino's day. Their language is closer to Pima than it is to southern Papago and in fact forms one dialect group with Pima and *kuhatk*. Because of the rapid acculturation of the last two, it is hard to tell whether ceremonial customs were shared also.

Quajote (Papago, *kuhatk*, translated "dried and burnt," or "bowl," alluding to the topography). This division is in close contact with Pima country, and for practical purposes is to be considered part of it. The dialects are identical, and the residents, though claiming the name "desert people," have intermarried largely with the Pima and, like them, have adopted white ways. They figure very little in this study.

Western Papago (nicknamed *huhura*, or *huhula*, orphans). These Indians inhabit the inhospitable desert country, the nickname of its residents indicating that they had no good water and could not build permanent villages. The inhabitants are spoken of by other divisions as sorcerers, a sure sign of strangeness, and their dialect is recognizably different. From an ethnological point of view, the north-and-south line dividing these people from the two just mentioned, is more important than the political boundary between Papago and Pima.

Southern Papago (nicknamed *kokororoti*, or *kokōloloti*, from Tecolote, one of their villages). If *kuhatk* belongs practically with the Pima, this division aligns with Mexico. Its people camp and run cattle on

[1] Underhill, 1939, pp. 59–69.

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28



both sides of the border, or they did until a recent boundary fence was erected. Their dialect shows many traces of Spanish, both in pronunciation and vocabulary. They are nominally Christians, and their government is of the style standardized by Spain for Mexican villages. They have abandoned most of the old ceremonies and customs and have been so harassed during the Mexican wars that their village, clan, and moiety affiliations have been largely broken up. As compensation, they shared earlier than the other groups in Spanish civilization. They were the first to use wheat, horses, and cattle, and they now include some incipient capitalists.

In a general study, it might be possible to include the Gila Pima, called by the Papago the "River People" as another division. We shall speak of them and the Papago together as Pimans, for the separation of the two groups, with their distinct names, is a recent development, due largely to reservation geography. However Pima ceremonies, today, are almost nonexistent. The Pima have been subject to white influence for almost one hundred years and, even when Russell visited them in 1901–2, he found only fragments of ritual practice. Nevertheless, such songs and speeches as he recorded, reveal striking likenesses to the material presented here.

True, there were some ceremonies which the Pima never had, such as the salt pilgrimage and the rituals for local shrines. Yet most others have left their traces. Sometimes a single song, roughly classed as "medicine" or "festal," has the very words of a Papago song that forms an integral part of some long ritual. Elements of a curing practice which Russell could not explain, appear to be fragments of the prayerstick festival that had been retained for curing, though abandoned as a public performance. These similarities have been noted in their suitable order. They give the impression that Pima ceremonial life strongly resembled that of the northern Papago. It may not have differed from that of the other divisions any more than they differed from each other.

Papago and Pima both are divided into moieties, known usually as Red Ants and White Ants among the Pima, Buzzard and Coyote among the Papago. These sometimes have minor functions in ceremony, such as painting the dancers but they do not conduct ceremonies nor possess rituals. The same is true of the four sibs or clans,

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28



danger of stopping because few villagers will give their time to run it. Nor will they buy gasoline. Communal responsibility had broken down at one point and never has been built up. 177

It is easy to see, after the event, that there might have been an agreement with the community before the pump was put in, establishing corporate responsibility and placing the government in the familiar role of patriarch caring for his family. But the arrival at such an agreement would have been a slow and disheartening process while the necessary improvements, which the public could understand, would seem to be sacrificed.

The improvements went forward and schools, hospital and stock supervision were instituted. In each case there was opposition, sometimes bitter and threatening, from a section of the people. There was such opposition on most reservations but with the Papago, who had never fought the Whites, it was benefits, not cruelty which aroused the first hostility and produced the resistant group now called montezumas. They are not organized, for open political opposition is foreign to Papago custom. They remain at home, spreading through their patriarchal families the emotional conviction that things should remain as they were.

They were once in the majority and it is possible they are so still. But in the south, where old ties were already slackened, there were Papago who gladly accepted the new order. In all the changes which follow, we must assume the presence of two parties, conservatives and progressives. The dividing line does not pass between old and young, as it does on so many reservations for the schools have not been operating long enough to produce a rift. It is rather between north and south, with exceptions on both sides. Neither party has knowledge enough to form any plan by which modern improvements could be fitted to ancient institutions. The conservatives reject completely; the progressives accept completely. Both inevitably take advantage of the improvements offered, both evince a lessening of the old obligations though in different degrees.

Communal duties to the village, which once took the place of a tax, have very nearly lapsed, since the government is responsible for the principle communal interests of pump, school and stock supervision. The Papago, who have never had a national organization, have still to develope their relationship to such a centralized authority. The fact that the stockman cannot get help on roundups and that parents must be organized from the beginning for school cooperation is not a proof that the Papago cannot cooperate. Rather, they are unprepared for cooperation of the sort proposed. [619]

Family ties have not suffered so much, for as we shall mention

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
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# Chapter I

## THE DESERT PEOPLE

000 DRIVING from Tucson to Ajo in southern Arizona, one passes through a hundred miles of the Papago Indian Reservation. It is an arid land with sparse and, to the unaccustomed eye, strange vegetation, a country of wide valleys and small rugged mountain ranges. Stopping at a trading post for gasoline, the traveler wonders where the trader's customers come from. The lone figure on horseback or the family in a wagon glimpsed along the way would hardly seem enough to justify a store. Where do the customers live, and how can they make a living? If one looks closely, he occasionally sees a shelter or a little cluster of earth-colored houses along the route. A few cattle, patient under the relentless sun, or a field green with corn and squash and beans, give a clue and may also awaken a curiosity to know how the people live and what they think about besides cattle and corn in this dry land. What kind of people are they?

### THE PEOPLE

101 The Indians who live in this desert country are known to white people as the Papago. The name probably comes from that given them by their neighbors (as heard and recorded by the Spaniards): *pavi coatam*, "the Bean-eating People," or *pavi au'autam*, "the Bean People," from the tepary bean which was a staple food item. The Papago call themselves *tohono au'autam*, "the Desert People."

619 101 The "Papago tribe" is an administrative title only, for the Indians officially so named were a loose conglomeration of tribes all speaking the Piman language. The Piman-speaking people inhabited a large area that straddles the international boundary and is known as Pimería Alta. These people themselves recognize two main divisions: the River People, who live along the Gila River in the northern part of Pimería and are designated by the government as the "Pima tribe," and the Desert People, now known as the "Papago tribe," who live south of the River People. In both the United States and Mexico there were numerous subgroups or tribes, all speaking dialects of the Piman language,

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
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which belongs to the Uto-Aztecan stock.[1] Among all there was a strong feeling of kinship, although the "Papago" feel themselves different from the "Pima."

The Desert People in the United States are officially consolidated into "The Papago Tribe of Arizona." About 5,900 of them live on the Papago Reservation, roughly a sixty-five-mile square lying along the southern border of Arizona between the Baboquivari Mountains on the east and the Ajo Mountains on the west, with an irregular line south of the Gila River as its northern boundary (see Map I). Others live near by on two smaller reservations: about 200 at Gila Bend to the northwest, and almost 500 at San Xavier to the east. Including a few members who live off the reservations, Papago now number close to 7,000, a large tribe which is increasing at the rate of over 1 per cent a year.

It is the Desert People, specifically those who live on the main Reservation, who are the subject of this study; they are referred to here as "the Papago" and their reservation as "the Reservation." Those herein called "the Pima" are the official "Pima tribe," who live on the Gila River and Salt River reservations to the north.

On the main Papago Reservation the people live on lonely ranches or in scattered, sprawling villages, many of which existed when the first Jesuit missionary, Father Kino, came in 1698. The village is the important unit among the Papago. It always consists of a group of related families, ranging in number from four or five to fifty or sixty household units, totaling perhaps three hundred individuals. However, there are only a few large villages: only thirty-six villages of more than fifty people on the entire Reservation. Sells, the seat of the government agency, has over one thousand inhabitants, but the number of white persons and the fact that many of the Papago families attracted there by government jobs are unrelated make this settlement atypical.

Villages are interrelated through the dialect groups. The original groups were first described by Father Kino, who thought of them as being virtually separate tribes (see chap. v). Since his time the various groups have moved to their present locations and have become officially consolidated into one tribe, but the divisions are still recognized by the Papago.

The dialect groups have recently acquired political significance. In 1936 the Reservation was divided into nine districts, roughly equivalent to the dialect groups but also determined by administrative and economic consideratons (see Map I). The outlying San Xavier and Gila Bend reservations form two additional districts. Population in the districts on the main reservation varies from 1,200 in Sells to 250 in Gu Vo, the western districts being most thinly settled.

1. There are over fifty linguistic stocks in use among Indians of the United States and Canada today, some of them as different as English and Chinese (see Clark Wissler, *The American Indian*, pp. 391–400).

(4) [Text continues on p. 7]

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
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### WORKING FOR THE GOVERNMENT

464 Most of the hundred-odd Papago who work for the Agency live with their families in Sells, although they often keep homes and fields in their own villages. These employees come mainly from the eastern districts and belong to the *ḳokololoi* and *totoḳ̇wany* dialect groups, which have had longer contacts with whites than the others on the Reservation. They are predominantly Presbyterian, but there are also a few Catholics and non-Christians.

In lean years the steady wages offered by the Agency and the wider possibilities for recreation drew Papago to Sells. However, occasionally social problems arise. Girls who have gone to the Agency town have been known to get into trouble, and on one occasion within the last few years a number of girls were rounded up by the Indians and quietly sent back to their own villages. Papago children who have been brought up in Sells seem more aggressive and American in their behavior than others, and often the Papago say that the mischievous pranks and more serious escapades of school children "always start in Sells." Then, too, some of the adults who work for the government are [578] scorned by other Papago as "Agency Indians" and thus are separated from their own people, on the one hand, and from the white staff members, on the other.

### THE PAPAGO AND GOVERNMENT: THE TRIBE GOVERNS ITSELF

619 The Papago tribe as a political unit has existed for less than ten years. Before that time, each village handled its own affairs, and related villages co-operated economically and socially, but there was no tribal government as such.

619 There were, however, attempts to bring together leaders from the various villages and dialect groups. For some years before the establishment of the 575 Reservation, some of the headmen and other leaders felt the need of government help in getting water developments, schools, and hospitals. They organized the Good Government League, which met regularly to discuss ways and means of attaining these ends and to draw up petitions for assistance. Characteristically, the group was loosely organized and it was completely Papago. A storekeeper lent the group a building in which to meet in bad weather, and government employees addressed them on request; but apparently no whites were responsible for the organization or its activities.

648 Opposition to the League developed among some of the old headmen and 578 certain of the more conservative communities. After the establishment of the 575 Reservation the feeling increased because, it was alleged, a small group of League members "ran the Agency" and "the superintendent always called

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
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them in and did what they said." About 1925 half of the members split off into the League of Papago Chiefs, a group in opposition to the superintendent and the old League. The conflict rapidly became acute. Agency employees and other whites (including missionaries) supported one faction against the other. The opposition won out, and the superintendent was removed in 1929. The Papago say that the influence of this split still exists and that the two groups oppose each other to this day, though the two leagues have officially disappeared.

Another attempt at organization was made when three lawyers offered to represent the Papago in pressing certain claims against the United States. The Secretary of the Interior required that three Papago representatives be elected by a general council of the tribe and be authorized to sign the contract with the attorneys. Of the four men elected as officers of the General Papago Council, two came from the superintendent, and one had been neutral. All of them were boarding-school men from the southeastern part of the Reservation. The ensuing negotiations resulted in strife and factionalism among the Indians, for the rumor was circulated that the executive committee had promised the lawyers large sections of tribal land. Even near-by non-Papago towns were alarmed lest clear titles to their lands be impaired. When, at the recommendation of the lawyers, the Reservation was withdrawn from all types of mineral entry (restored with the Reorganization Act), there arose a real hue and cry from all sides. The attorneys' contract was not renewed in 1934, and most of the Agency personnel was transferred.[7]

When the new superintendent arrived in 1934, he saw the Reservation largely in economic terms and began to reorganize it to develop the cattle industry; his plans included systematic range management, grazing districts with fences, a cattle association, and an organization to provide for local self-government. In October, 1934, representatives from twenty-five villages met in Sells and signed an agreement with the government providing for some of the economic portions of this program.[8] The Indian Reorganization Act was accepted on December 15, 1934, and the Papago Tribe became legally a political unit.

To provide a basis for self-government, the Papago elected a committee of twenty men to draft a constitution. Only three of the western villages, however, participated in the elections, and five of the six-man committee which ironed out differences of opinion were *kokololoti* members of the southeastern

7. Account drawn from U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs, *Annual Statistical Report, Sells Agency . . . , 1935*, pp. 35–37, and from personal inquiry.

8. The cattle association never materialized because of too strenuous opposition.